

# Palestine Perspectives

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## THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

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## ISRAEL TAKES EVASIVE ACTION

The latest news from the Arab-Israeli front is that Israel is taking strenuous evasive action to avoid making peace with the Palestinians. Yitzhak Shamir exhumed the remains of Camp David II and brought it to Washington as a new Israeli peace initiative—after numerous emissaries paved his way.

Shamir, who opposed Camp David when it was negotiated between Begin and Sadat, now finds it a useful substitute for the intifada. If he cannot subdue the Palestinians by clubbing them on the head and putting them in prison, maybe he can subdue them by shackling them in a South Africa style Bantustan. That is the gist of the “new” thinking that Shamir brought to Washington.

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*“Bantustans are not working in South Africa, and they are not likely to work in Palestine.”*

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First, Shamir wants the Palestinians to stop the intifada. Second, he wants some Palestinians “not associated with the PLO” to endorse in advance his rejection of Palestinian self-determination. Third, he wants to arrange for their election as new Palestinian leadership. Fourth, he wants them to sign on the dotted line, accepting “limited self-rule” instead of independence. Finally, after a number of years during which the Palestinians pass Shamir’s test of good behavior, he would talk to the leaders he had helped choose for the Palestinians on “final status” which does not include Palestinian self-determination, an eventuality which remains unacceptable to Shamir under any circumstances.

The occupied territories cease being occupied territories and become Judea and Samaria, and those who demand that Shamir should find a political remedy to Israel’s problems in the occupied territories would get off his back. The

Bush administration would be spared the risky task of pressing Israel to do something, and everyone—except the Palestinians—would live happily ever after.

The scheme, of course, is not without its faults. Bantustans are not working in South Africa, and they are not likely to work in Palestine. And Uncle Toms have never been able to usurp national liberation movements. It was tried in Algeria, in Zimbabwe and everywhere else that colonists tried to evade the day of reckoning, and it always failed. It has already been tried in Palestine (remember the Village Leagues of the early 80s?), and it failed there too.

Shamir has enough talent for self-deception, and the last thing he needs is anyone to encourage his illusions that the Palestinians will accept his prescriptions for denying them national freedom. What he needs explained to him is that the Palestinians are willing to listen to ideas about how, but not whether, they are to be free. □

*M. Hallaj*

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*"The first child I treated was a victim of the awful cluster bomb. He died, and I thanked God for that. If he had lived, he would have had no eyes, no face, no legs."*

## EYELESS IN GAZA

*By Dr. Swee Chai Ang\**

**I**t all began six years ago, in the summer of 1982, when I volunteered my services to the war victims in Lebanon. Until that trip I never knew there were people called Palestinians. In the refugee camps of Lebanon, in Sabra and Shatilla, I discovered the truth. Israel, a country which I had loved and respected all my life, had suddenly turned into a ruthless monster.

The first child I treated was a victim of the awful cluster bomb. He died, and I thanked God for that. If he had lived, he would have had no eyes, no face, no legs. Then came more children—children with burns, fractures, with festering wounds which left hideous scars. And finally the Sabra and Shatilla massacres which transformed the camps into a demolition site punctuated by mass graves.

The stench of decaying human flesh never quite left me, and I developed an obsession for perfumes, hoping that they would blot out that stench from my olfactory lobes. That was my beginning with the Palestinians. That was where it would have ended—if I had not seen another side.

Yes, amid the horrors of destruction, death and decay life goes on. Four generations of Palestinians have lived in this manner and brought yet more children into the world. They were never sure whether theirs was the generation to see deliverance from this inhuman state, but they always lived in hope, in expectation that their children, or their children's children, would make it. Even when the most brutal fate befell them, they would still believe in God, and that one day His peace and justice would be granted to them. And then they would be like everyone else, happy and free. Meanwhile, they would continue to rebuild their bombed-out homes. Palestinian women would gather their children and feed them with affection if there was a shortage of bread and milk. The Palestine Red Crescent Society, the health institution of the Palestinian people, would go on building and rebuilding their hospitals and clinics—to mend the wounds of war, and to defy the onslaught of future invasions.

I can only remember the words of a Palestinian woman. "It is so easy to die. But we have to live and be strong, to carry on for the sake of future generations."

So Shatilla camp was rebuilt, how many times since 1982, I lost count. Attacks and sieges came and went, so did six harsh Lebanese winters. The wounds of Shatilla never quite healed. Yet when the Palestinians in Shatilla learned that the Palestinians in Gaza were wounded in the uprising, and needed an orthopedic surgeon, they urged me to leave for Gaza. . . .

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*"Palestinian women would gather the children and feed them with affection if there was a shortage of bread and milk."*

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**L**ife in Gaza is life under occupation. I learned that very quickly. One of the first things I saw was a large gathering of Palestinian women—hundreds, I would say. It

was Friday, a day when they were allowed a brief visit to detained relatives. That was Ansar II prison, next to the sea.

There was yet another prison in crowded Gaza, the Gaza Central Goal, where prisoners were put 25 to each cell, often having to sleep on top of each other. To be found with a Palestinian flag, to be suspected of opposing the occupation, would earn a long prison term, never mind actually throwing stones at the Israeli army. . . .

Most of my patients were either beaten up by the army or shot by them. The abbreviation "BBA"—beaten by the army—appeared in medical records with predictable regularity. Then there are the patients with gunshot wounds, carried into the emergency room by terrified relatives. Little children of five, six, seven, eight and nine years, and teenagers of 12, 13 and upwards.

Severe beatings produced nasty soft-tissue injuries, bleeding into the joints and brain, rupture of major ligaments and bone fractures anywhere—the hand, the forearm, the skull, the ribs, the legs, and so on. I soon accumulated a large pile of X-rays of such injuries. Occasionally, as though to provide some variety, the army would shoot around kids instead of directly at them. This would produce panic, and the kids would flee. They would climb up walls to get away from the soldiers, who would then resume shooting forcing them to jump off the walls. These would come in with fractures labeled "Fallen off wall while trying to escape from the army."

Then there were Palestinians with nasty high voltage burns sustained as a result of being forced to take down Palestinian flags hanging on electric cables, and those with flash burns sustained when ordered by the army to remove burning tires from the roads.

Gunshot wounds were of different types, and varied from time to time. The most commonly used bullets were the plastic bullets. They were the best of the whole lot, unless shot at close range, or into the abdomen where they would kill by perforating vital viscera, or the eye, or blood vessels; they cause unpleasant, but non-fatal wounds.

Then there are different kinds of rubber bullets—at least three to my knowledge. First, the conventional rubber bullets used for riot control in most parts of the world—but seldom used by the Israeli army nowadays. They tend to prefer some kind of modification where a heavier piece of metal ball approximately one centimeter in diameter and coated with a thin layer of rubber, perhaps one millimeter or less.

This variety is vicious and produces perforations in the skull and severe brain damage, comminuted fractures of limb bones, and extensive soft-tissue injuries. My first encounter with this kind of rubber bullet was on January 2 this year. A kid was brought into the emergency room with the story of having been hit by a rubber bullet. The X-rays revealed a large round metal object embedded below the eye. The patient lost his eye as a result of this injury.

*(continued on page 4)*





### EYELESS (continued from page 3)

Following that was a young girl, with a penetrating injury of the cranium. Brain was oozing out and X-rays confirmed a metallic sphere embedded in the brain and the fracture in the skull created at the point where the bullet penetrated it. Her mother was hit by the same kind of bullet and had an open fracture of the wrist.

Of course, when the army meant business they would use a nine-millimeter steel-capped bullet, or some kind of dum dum bullet, and my old friends from Lebanon, the lethal high velocity M16 bullets. On a good day, our hospital would have less than 10 "BBA" and gunshot cases, but on a bad day the wards would fill up very quickly and the matron would have to put up extra mattresses for the wounded.

The worst day happened before my arrival. The army attacked a school, and the hospital had over 60 severe casualties.

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*"It is so easy to die. But we have to live and be strong, to carry on for the sake of future generations."*

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Dealing with wounds and fractures is just one aspect—perhaps the technical and straightforward aspect. Dealing with wounded patients who are threatened with arrest is the real difficulty. This is especially so since I have examined and treated various people released from prison. They were brutally beaten in prison, and their description of the treatment they were subjected to was beyond the endurance of the fit and healthy, not to mention the wounded.

One evening, I operated on a young man shot by a 9 mm bullet. This went through his shoulder, blowing it apart to multiple bits... Scarcely had I completed his operation when the army came into the recovery room of the operating theater wanting to question him. My anesthetist colleague, a Norwegian doctor, turned them away.

A few hours later the army returned and wanted to go upstairs to question the man. I stopped them. They came back a third time, and 10 fully armed members of the army went into the ward in the small hours in the morning and interrogated the patient. I felt helpless when this happened—obviously no one could hold up 10 men armed with M16 machineguns.

They returned a fourth time with the view of abducting him. Fortunately the patient's relatives had taken him away before the army arrived. From the surgical aspect, his shoulder would probably be a disaster due to the severity

of the injury as well as his inability to complete his treatment. I could only pray for his safety and hope that his shoulder would heal....

To this day, I have never found out what crime my patient had committed, and why he was denied the right to be treated properly. Certainly the mighty army could wait a day or two for his condition to stabilize before getting at him in this way. Yet he was just one of many who were threatened with arrest while receiving hospital treatment. There are two parties who are victimized in this process. The obvious victim is the patient, but the not-so-obvious victim is the medical team. I felt as though the army was forcing me to violate medical ethics. It was not only denying my patient the right to be treated; it was also denying me the right to treat my patient.

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*"When I look at the courage of the Palestinians, I know that the occupation will have to end soon."*

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The irony was that the impoverished people of Gaza were paying taxes to "the government" so that the occupation could continue. They helped pay the salaries of the soldiers who shot and beat them, and the prisons that robbed them of their freedom, and the military apparatus that continued to stifle and crush them.

It was small wonder that the Palestinians demanded an end to the occupation, and the intifada (or uprising) carried on without any hint of abeyance after one year, after nearly 400 Palestinians were killed, and thousands injured. Palestinians everywhere told me: "It is impossible to stop the intifada. We will just have to carry on till we get our rights back." Palestinians invited me into their homes, where they would show me items made in the colors of the Palestine flag. Knitted woolen jumpers, embroidery, any common item would become a channel for expression of their longing for freedom.

Within a fortnight of my arrival last December, a woman had knitted me a jumper in the colors of the Palestinian flag. Little children would make victory signs. It was these children and their stones that had threatened the Israeli army and their occupation.

One day I was operating on a beautiful young Palestinian girl who had been shot. I looked at her wound and started to think aloud: "This would leave such an ugly scar. I hope her future husband will love her despite this." The Palestinian male nurse who was helping with the operation looked at me in complete surprise: "Why do you say that? He will be very proud of her, because she was wounded for Palestine."

A 13-year-old boy came out of prison with his wrist broken by the army. We straightened his broken bones and put him in a plaster of paris cast, but when he was ready to leave the hospital, I learned that the army had gone to his home and threatened his father. They would get the old man if his son did not show up. My patient bravely went home to face rearrest. When I look at the courage of the Palestinians, I know that the occupation will have to end soon.... □

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\*Dr. Ang is an orthopedic surgeon and founder of the London-based Medical Aid for Palestinians. She had worked since 1982 as a medical volunteer in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, where she witnessed the massacres of Sabra and Shatilla in September of that year. In December 1988, Dr. Ang volunteered for work in a Gaza hospital. She recorded some of her experiences in a book, *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, published by Grafton Books in February 1989. This article is excerpted from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 12 February 1989.



## THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE GOES ON

The Palestinian struggle for independence, the intifada, is now a year and a half old. Even though Israeli censorship of news from occupied Palestine since the spring of 1988 gives the false impression that the intifada and Israel's attempts to suppress it have abated, rising casualties since the beginning of this year indicate that the Palestinian struggle for freedom still rages vigorously in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although the media, citing Israeli official figures, give as "more than 400" the victims of Israeli repression of the Palestinian uprising, PLO sources say the figure is closer to 700 fatalities.

PLO Chairman Arafat's office in Tunis says that 681 Palestinians had been killed by Israeli troops and armed settlers until the first of April. The Palestine News Agency, Wafa, reported from Tunis that the families of the Palestinian victims are listed with the Martyrs Families Department of the PLO, which provides assistance to the families of Palestinians killed, injured or imprisoned for political reasons.

The PLO also reported a sharp increase in the number of injuries, including fatalities, suffered by Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, this year. In March alone, it said, 35 Palestinians had died in intifada-related incidents.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported in its newsletter, UNRWA News (17 April 1989), that during the first half of April "at least 21 Palestinians lost their lives." It said that this was "one of the highest death tolls for any fortnight" since the uprising began in December 1987. UNRWA sources say that the total number of Palestinians killed is 442, but the figure includes "only those reported or made known to UNRWA. Total injuries, caused by gunfire, beatings, rubber bullets and tear gas, is 24,799.

The most recent update of casualties published on the first of April by the Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights lists the names of 557 Palestinians killed, including 377 by gunfire and 180 by other causes, including gas and beating.

The casualties reported by UNRWA

include 18,000 in the Gaza Strip (including 131 fatalities), and 6,799 in the West Bank (including 311 fatalities). Of the injuries in Gaza, 36 percent were suffered by children aged 15 and under. Children accounted for 19 percent of the fatalities. In the West Bank, children accounted for 14 percent of all injuries, including fatalities.

### Massacre at Nahalin

The worst incident in recent months occurred at Nahalin, a town of about 3,000 located southwest of Bethlehem. On 13 April, at dawn, an Israeli force entered the town and shot about 40 people, six of whom died of gunshot wounds. The villagers said that the incident was sparked by an Israeli raid at a time when people were returning from the mosque after the dawn prayer.

*Al-Ittihad* paper (Haifa) quoted eyewitnesses saying that a convoy of about 15 military vehicles entered the

village about 5 o'clock in the morning. The villagers started to set up roadblocks to prevent the army from entering their village and the soldiers began to shoot at them indiscriminately. "Some border policemen," said one witness, "climbed to the roof of a two-story building and opened fire at people below."

"It was a massacre," a farmer told journalists. "The army came to kill; they fired indiscriminately."

Thirty-five years ago, in 1954, before Israel occupied the West Bank, Nahalin was the scene of another massacre perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinians. In March 1954, a force of 300 Israeli soldiers crossed the armistice line and surrounded the village while a part of the forces fired and tossed hand grenades at people sleeping in their homes. Eight people were killed and 14 were wounded. In addition, three Jordanian soldiers died and five were wounded when a

(continued on page 8)

## THE INTIFADA THROUGH PALESTINIAN EYES

The following are excerpts from remarks made by Dr. Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, professor of English at Birzeit University, to the annual convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Washington on 14 April 1989:

■ "The intifada is our response to all those who thought, at one time or another, that the eradication of a nation is possible by denial, persecution, and exile. It is our pledge to the dispossessed among us and our promise of redemption. It is a humble tribute to that most human statement of endurance, courage, and hope etched in our collective memory by our brothers and sisters in the camps of Lebanon. It is a statement of faith in our leadership, the PLO, who are entrusted with our future and with that of our children. To all of us, the intifada is a statement of conviction and a way of life."

■ "The voice of the intifada conveys at once the pride of a nation in a state of emergence and its humility before the magnitude of the occasion. Confident in its achievements—in delegitimizing the Israeli occupation while simultaneously legitimizing the authentic vision and utterance of the Palestinian will—it has created an alternative, appropriate reality to negate the counterfeit, distorted reality which the occupation has tried to impose."

■ "It is with a sense of wonder and humility that we have scaled the wall of fear with which the occupation had tried to curtail our vision, and we have discovered vast expanses of promise and potential on the horizon. And with the discovery, we have gained self-knowledge... We are not a vindictive nation harboring resentment and hate, nourishing bitterness in the dark and spewing it out in a vengeful program of destruction. Rather, we have committed ourselves to a light-filled life, denying the sun to no one, claiming what is ours without depriving others of what is theirs, building a future without distorting the past, and healing wounds which were not of our making." □



## "THEIR CHILDHOOD IS BEING STOLEN FROM THEM"

Israel is guilty of the worst violations of human rights and America is paying for it. This was the way Brian Wilson described what he saw of Israeli repression in occupied Palestine. Wilson, the well-known peace activist who lost both legs in 1987 when he was hit by a train carrying weapons from the Concord Naval Weapons Station in California as he and other protesters of aid to the Contras tried to stop the train, was speaking at a press conference in Jerusalem on 17 April.

"From the closing of schools to the demolition of houses to the arrest and torture of young children to the use of lethal ammunition on unarmed kids and to the generally inhumane conditions in which so many of them live," Wilson said, "an entire generation is being lost forever."

Wilson, who was on a fact-finding mission in occupied Palestine with a group of American attorneys and health workers from the California-based Middle East Children's Alliance, said "I have not seen anything that rivals these violations of international human rights standards anywhere else on earth—and the United States is footing the bill." Rarely, however, he added, "have I seen the resolve and determination to continue to struggle for freedom, no matter what the costs are, as I have in the children that I met here."

Speaking about the methods of Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation, the founder of the Institute for the Practice of Non-Violence said: "Their essential non-violence in the face of daily horrors is a tribute both to their humanity and to the justness of their cause."

Another member of the team, Osha Neumann who is an attorney and a member of the city of Berkeley's California watchdog Police Review Commission, described Israeli "justice" as a farce. "The court system for Palestinians," he said, "is a badly acted farce with a rehearsed conclusion. There is no due process in any real sense of the phrase. When confessions are routinely extracted by torture, when they are written in Hebrew and signed by people who read only Arabic, when the accused have little or no idea what is going on in court because of inadequate translation and when Israeli witnesses are always believed regard-

less of the facts, it is simply impossible for any Palestinian to get a fair trial; acquittal is out of the question."

Dr. Paul Takagi, a University of California (Berkeley) sociologist, said that "from what I have seen and documented during our trip, Israel is committing human rights violations and horrendous crimes no different from what is going on in South Africa today."

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*"I have not seen anything that rivals these violations of international human rights standards anywhere else on earth—and the United States is footing the bill."*

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Barbara Lubin, executive director of the Middle East Children's Alliance, said that "the situation the children live in is in all ways unacceptable and we as Americans—and some as Jewish-Americans—will do everything we can to see that the United States works to stop this destruction of children's lives."

The director of Mental Health Services for the city of Richmond, California, Barbara Cross, said of Palestinian children that "Their childhood is being stolen from them." She warned of long-term psychological consequences, which she described as "frightening." She said: "The fears they have facing the soldiers, the scars left by seeing family members dragged



from their homes and beaten or killed, the deprivation of formal education—every child will pay a heavy price for these events. The damage being done to the children is bubbling beneath the surface now, but soon we will see it boiling to the top." □

### ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON THE PALESTINIAN CHILD

By Steve Sosebee

There are several debatable issues concerning the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, especially since the uprising, or intifada, has altered the nature of that occupation. The level of force used to quell the uprising, the continued building of settlements, the deportations and house demolitions, the absence of due process for imprisoned Palestinians are all Israeli policies that are, to some extent, open to debate as to their necessity and morality. However, one issue concerning the occupation that is beyond moral argument is the effect of the military occupation on the education of Palestinian children.

In the last year, elementary, junior high and high schools in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were closed by military orders for nine of the twelve months. Palestinian universities have been closed since the beginning of the intifada, and there is no indication that they will be reopened soon.

The occupied Palestinian community has realized that the policy of school closing is going to have a serious effect on the children's future. In the West Bank alone, there are 300,000 school children who have missed almost an entire year of their education. It is the same in the Gaza Strip where over 50 percent of the 700,000 people are under 21 years old.



As a result, the Palestinians established a grassroots educational process where a teacher held classes at various locations with a small group of students. This alternative form of education has also been banned by the military. In addition, the teachers do not get paid for the time schools are closed, forcing many able instructors to abandon their profession as educators.

It is true that Palestinian schools are a "hot bed of nationalism," as the military explained its rationale for closing them. However, everything in the occupied territories is now a "hot bed of Palestinian nationalism." From mosques, churches, hospitals, to playgrounds, streets and prisons, not a single institution or activity in the occupied territories is isolated from the nationalist struggle for statehood.

It has been said that all the Palestinians have is their minds. They lack a state where they can live free, without their lives being subjected to scrutiny by alien ruling authorities. This is the main reason why the Palestinians are among the most highly educated people in the world. They pursue education as if the brain itself is their only reliable possession. Dispossession in 1948, and a history of being occupied or refugees have taught them that land and other possessions can be easily lost. Many Palestinians now think that by closing schools and universities the Israelis are trying to deny the last uncontrolled source of power that the Palestinian people have....

If George Bush is serious about being the education president, then he should make it clear to the countries which depend on our aid, as Israel does, that there are things that must remain sacred, even during occupation and rebellion. Education for young children is something that must not be tampered with by politicians or soldiers.

Unfortunately, Palestinian children under Israeli occupation have already been denied a year of schooling. They are being given an "education" by a cruel occupation that is as violent and brutal as it is fruitless. Let us hope that this lesson in brutality is not learned by Palestinian children. □

*Steve Sosebee, a student at Kent State University in Ohio, visited occupied Palestine for three weeks earlier this year. Since his return, he has faced intimidation to prevent him from presenting a slide show on the intifada.*

## IT IS EASIER TO BREAK BONES THAN SPIRITS

To Quell the Intifada, Israel Humiliates As Well As Shoots

The greatest cause of Israel's failure to quell the Palestinian uprising has been its inability to break the spirit of the people of the occupied territories. "All that Israel has to do to quell the uprising," Shamir said shortly after the intifada began, "is to reestablish the barrier of fear." The policy of "force, might and beating" announced by Rabin was intended to accomplish that Israeli purpose.

The policy of force, might and beating is the more visible part of Israeli repression. It is more easily witnessed and recorded because it normally takes place out in the open, in the streets. But Israel has also been waging an invisible war on the Palestinians in the hope of reestablishing the barrier of fear. It is a war of deliberate

humiliation. Children are beaten in front of their parents, to highlight their helplessness. And parents are beaten in front of their children to rob them of their dignity.

Less known to the general public—because it usually happens behind closed doors—is the fact that one of the most despicable ways in which Israeli occupation troops try to intimidate and break the will of the Palestinians is sexual attacks on women. It is obvious that none of these methods has worked, because the intifada continues and it is as vibrant as ever.

The following affidavit was made by a Palestinian young woman, describing an experience which has become widespread in the occupied West Bank and Gaza:

### Affidavit

*I, the undersigned, Ilham Abu Dakka, inhabitant of Abasan in the Gaza Strip, identity card number 930670467, submit an affidavit, taken under oath and subject to all the legal outcomes, after receiving the legal caution given me by Lawyer Raji Surani, about the presentation of an affidavit as a complaint to the institutions dealing with my testimony and the care of the portfolio from a legal point of view.*

On Wednesday, October 19, 1988, at about 8 in the morning, I was in my house which is about 15-20 meters from the home of Tahani Abu Dakka. As I dozed, I heard screams from outside. I went out of the house, looked around outside, and saw army men beating Tahani Abu Dakka. Seven or eight soldiers were there. I went in the side door of the neighbor's house, and from there headed towards Tahani Abu Dakka's house. At the entrance, I saw my two sisters, Awatef and Amneh, also being beaten by the soldiers. I stood on the stairs and started to yell. There were other women who also yelled, and then the soldiers came into the house. They came beside me. I went up the stairs. When I saw one of the soldiers chasing me with a club, I fled out of fear. I entered the apartment and went into the guest room. The soldier entered after me, pushed me onto the sofa, and beat me with his club on my left leg. After that he tried to pick me up, and lifted up my nightgown. I prevented him doing that, and he spoke to me in course language.

In a previous complaint, I refused to detail his words: He said "I will rape you" and repeated this several times. I started to scream and he started to slap my face, and after that other parts of my body.

Then my sister, Amneh Abu Dakka, arrived. The soldier locked the door of the room. My sister opened the door again and entered, and he stopped beating me. At the same time my nerves were tense, I was very tired and close to a condition of shock. What I remember is that another soldier arrived who took the first soldier with him and went out with him from the apartment. I remained in my place.

The Civil Governor of Khan Yunis called us. He sent us to the police for questioning and for submitting the complaint. The police required that we submit the complaint in Jerusalem. They took our telephone numbers. They got in touch with us and wrote down material in Hebrew. We refused to sign this, because we don't understand Hebrew.

I submitted this affidavit under oath, after I received the legal caution from Raji Surani. □

*[Translation in Uprising Update: April 1, 1989, by Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights]*





*Israeli police use tear gas on the grounds of Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem*

**STRUGGLE** (continued from page 5)  
mine planted by the invading Israeli force exploded under their vehicle as they sped toward the village.

#### *International Protection*

The killings in Nahalin and the intensified repression in the occupied territories, causing a sharp increase in the number of Palestinian deaths, have caused the PLO to renew its call for international intervention. Meeting in Tunis the day after the Nahalin incident, the PLO Executive Committee called for the withdrawal of Israel's occupation forces and urged the Security Council to "take necessary action to deter Israel and to dispatch a U.N. protective umbrella over the Palestinian occupied territories." The Palestine News Agency, WAFA, reported that the Executive Committee also called on the government of the United States to take "a clear stand against Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights, and to exert pressure on the Israeli government to stop this organized terror against the Palestinians in the occupied territories."

In the United Nations General Assembly, where debate on the question of Palestine resumed on 28 April, the Nahalin killings and the urgent need for international involvement figured prominently in the debate. Palestine's ambassador to the United Nations, Zehdi Terzi, said that Israeli violence was intensifying, the freedom of worship has been restricted, and children and the elderly are beaten to death. He called the Nahalin killings "bar-

baric, criminal acts" by the Israeli armed forces and called on the Security Council to take measures to protect Palestinian civilians. □

#### **34 KILLED IN APRIL**

Thirty-four Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers and armed settlers during the month of April, according to the newly-formed Israeli Center for Human Rights in the Territories. One of the victims died as the result of beating by soldiers, and the others died of gunshot wounds. The April toll is the second highest since the beginning of the intifada 18 months ago. □

## **SHRINE UNDER SIEGE**

**Occupation Troops Keep Worshipers Away**

Muslim worshipers from the West Bank and Gaza were forbidden access to Al-Aqsa Mosque, the holiest Muslim shrine in Palestine, during the holy month of Ramadan. Army roadblocks on access roads to Jerusalem were used to turn back people going to the Friday noon prayers, and worshipers entering the mosque were ordered to surrender their identity cards to policemen at the gates.

This violation of the freedom of worship was justified on the grounds that demonstrations have broken out after Friday prayers in Jerusalem, in which the demonstrators burned Israeli flags and raised Palestinian flags, and in which the demonstrators pelted Israeli police with stones and empty bottles.

A spokesman for the Islamic Waqf in Jerusalem described the Israeli restrictions as "sheer violation of the freedom of religion" and said that the action sets a "dangerous precedent." He said "we categorically reject the order barring Muslims from entering Al-Aqsa Mosque."

Thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza travel to Jerusalem every Friday to pray at Al-Aqsa. Roadblocks on the way to Jerusalem had in the past hampered access to the mosque by limiting the freedom of travel, but the recent restrictions are the most explicit attempt to keep worshipers away. □

## **ISRAEL'S POLICE GOT CARRIED AWAY**

Fifty Israeli policemen have been dismissed for using excessive force... against Jews. Their offense was that they treated Jews the way they became accustomed to treating Arabs, an unacceptable principle in Israeli "democracy."

Israel's Inspector-General of Police, David Kraus, explained that the offending policemen used excessive force while arresting suspects "throughout the country, and not only against Arab civilians."

Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev blamed the Palestinian intifada for Israeli police brutality. "Most of our units," he explained, "have spent

many weeks facing violent riots in [occupied] East Jerusalem, where you have to use violence to confront violent rioters. After many weeks of daily use of clubs and fists, some of our men were tempted to use these very methods in Tel Aviv and Haifa."

Bar-Lev assured the Israeli public that the police command is now "taking special educational and disciplinary measures to root out violence in the force." He did not explain the nature of these measures and whether they go beyond ascertaining one's identity before clubbing him on the head. □



## INTIFADA HEARINGS

By Mark Bruzonsky

About a year ago, on 26 April 1988, the first and only congressional hearing on the intifada was held on Capitol Hill.

Actually it was not an official hearing. There has not been to this date an official hearing by any standing committee in congress which yearly provides Israel with billions of dollars crucial to its ability to continue controlling the occupied territories and putting down the intifada.

The hearing of April 1988 was a day of fact-finding arranged by the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), an organization of Black members of the House of Representatives. The CBC was able to use a regular hearing room, and the proceedings were conducted just as a regular congressional hearing. But the gathering had no official standing as far as the rest of congress or official Washington were concerned.

The reasons for this situation are well known, of course, though increasingly difficult to justify. Congress remains hostage to the infamous "Jewish lobby." And though privately there is much frustration, lots of grumbling, and in some quarters even considerable hostility to "the lobby," the situation remains one in which congress is effectively paralyzed in regard to Middle East policies affecting Israel.

After so many years of heavy-handed arm-twisting and various forms of political blackmail and lots of political money, all designed to keep congress firmly in Israel's pocket, resentment has grown. But not to the point where anyone is ready to directly challenge "the lobby." After all, everyone remembers that those who dared to displease the lobby in the past—William Fulbright, Charles Percy, Paul Findley and Pete McCloskey—are all gone from the Washington scene.

So no one other than the CBC has had the guts, or the moral decency, to even begin to investigate what is happening to the Palestinians in the areas occupied by America's top client state for nearly 22 years. Even the CBC has been very hesitant and circumspect, as shown by the very lengthy delays in getting the hearing transcript into print.

## WHEN WILL THE KILLING STOP?

Congressman Obey Wants an Answer

Congressman David Obey (D-WI) said that the Israeli practice of shooting people in the back while retreating to avoid a confrontation was "dumb," and the U.S. government should not finance it. Obey, chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations in the U.S. House of Representatives was conducting hearings on foreign aid when the subject of Israel's behavior in the occupied Palestinian territories came up.

Quizzing administration officials, he wanted to know what assurances there were that Shamir's proposal for holding elections in the occupied territories would produce a free choice. The following are excerpts from his statements on the subjects of elections and Israeli repression:

### Elections

"Let me be blunt. A number of Palestinian mayors were put into place a while back, and when the Israeli government didn't like the conduct of their activities, they were, in fact removed... What do we have that would indicate to us that this time around, if you went through this kind of a process like this, then the results would be different?

"What I find frustrating in the circular reasoning often presented by Mr. Shamir when we're told, 'Well, there isn't anybody to negotiate with,' and when you begin to develop indigenous leadership on the West Bank, that leadership is talked out of there and they say, 'Well, gee whiz, there's nobody to negotiate with.' Sooner or later, you ask yourself how often you're going to get burned before you don't believe it anymore."

### Human Rights

"What about the practice of firing upon demonstrators in retreat?... When is that stupid practice going to be ended?... I want an answer to that question before we mark-up this bill... I do not want to take personal responsibility for the allocation of one dime to a country whose military forces are firing at people in retreat!

"If you're trying to minimize damage, and if you're trying to build confidence, you don't do it by shooting at people who are running away... I mean that's just dumb! Do we have any real indication that we're going to get anything but words on this issue?... I would like to know, just for the hell of it, if we are going to get something besides words."

Indeed, on that day of April 1988, only three of the 23 members of the CBC were courageous enough to appear in the hearing room during any part of the daylong session. And one of the three, Congressman Ronald Dellums, only came for a few minutes at lunch time. Two congressmen who were in attendance most of the time and who in fact decided that the hearings be held were Congressmen George Crockett and Mervyn Dymally.

The CBC had done its homework and had gone to the trouble and expense of inviting former Israeli General Matti Peled and Palestinian human rights attorney Raja Shehadeh to testify. Palestinian scholar Edward Said was also there, and other academics and human rights activists. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimina-

tion Committee sent its President, Abdeen Jabara, who aroused considerable interest as he held up gruesome photos of Palestinians who had been injured.

The situation with American Jews was confused. Originally invited were the Executive Director of the powerful Jewish lobby, Tom Dine, and journalist Leonard Fine, a "liberal" critic of Israeli policy though a loyal member in good standing of the American Jewish establishment whose views usually mirror those of the "doves" in Israel's Labor Party. But neither of them appeared. Instead, called to the witness stand was Henry Schwarschild representing a new organization known as the Jewish Committee On The Middle East (JCOME), a coalition

(continued on page 13)



# THE PEACE PROCESS STAGGERS AND SPUTTERS

## Shamir's Scheme Is Effort to Whitewash Israel's Tarnished Image

During the past two months, Washington witnessed a round of diplomatic maneuvers seeking a way out of the deadlock in Arab-Israeli peace-making, taking advantage of the unprecedented opportunity presented by the Palestinian peace offensive of November-December 1988.

President George Bush held a series of meetings in April with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, and Jordan's King Hussein. The talks evidently did not produce a breakthrough. However, the talks opened a window on the administration's emerging thinking on the Palestine issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

### U.S. Policy

One hundred days after assuming office in Washington, the Bush administration still lacks a strategy for achieving Arab-Israeli peace. Consequently, it is not prepared to take initiatives at this time or to push for negotiations between the parties. In general, the current administration has not betrayed fresh thinking or significant departure from the policies of the previous administration.

U.S. policymakers seem to be groping for a way to reconcile "Israel's security requirements" with Palestinian "legitimate political rights." In practice, the administration has adopted a two-stage approach consisting of initial "confidence building measures," to be followed at a later time with negotiations on "the ultimate status" of the occupied Palestinian territories.

As articulated by President Bush, U.S. policy considers the status quo to be untenable and opposes Israeli claims of sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza. At the same time, the administration is adamant about its rejection of independent Palestinian statehood, which renders meaningless its opposition to continued Israeli occupation and its declared support of Palestinian legitimate political rights. The contradictions make it difficult to figure out how the Palestinians are to participate in defining their future or how they can exercise their political rights if they are denied the right to choose independence.

From a Palestinian perspective, U.S. policy continues to suffer from two serious disabilities: it is vague and

contradictory on the concept of Palestinian rights, and it is equivocal on the issue of Palestinian representation and participation in the peace process. Recent Arab-American talks and U.S.-PLO dialogue have not yet produced sufficient clarification of the Bush administration's positions on these critical issues.

The main outcome of the recent diplomatic activity in Washington was the Bush administration's support for the idea of holding local elections in the West Bank and Gaza to negotiate an interim agreement as a first step in the process. The Bush administration was not able, however, to get Shamir to budge on any of the substantive issues, such as the exchange of territory for peace.

### Shamir's Ploy

In a move aimed at defusing the Palestinian uprising and blunting American public criticism of Israeli intransigence, Shamir proposed elections in the occupied territories to produce a delegation to negotiate "limited self-rule," to be followed after a number of years by negotiations on the final status of the occupied territories.

At the same time, Shamir and his entourage made it clear that Israel will never relinquish control over the West Bank and Gaza, or negotiate with the PLO, or accept the principle of land for peace, or allow the establishment of a Palestinian state.

As to the proposed elections, Israel demands that the intifada be halted at the outset, and that the elections be held under Israeli supervision, without the redeployment of its forces away from population centers. Furthermore, campaigning and other election activities would be governed by rules and regulations enacted by Israel and enforced by Israeli forces. PLO sympathizers, according to Shamir, would not be allowed to run for office, and the 130,000 Palestinian residents of Jerusalem would not be allowed to participate.

Although the Palestinians support the notion of free democratic elections, Shamir's version of "democracy" in the shadow of Israeli bayonets fails to impress the Palestinians. The Palestinians insist that, for any elections to be free, international supervision is necessary and the withdrawal of Is-

raeli occupation troops at least from major population centers is essential. Furthermore, the Palestinians support elections that would be an integral part of a peace process to achieve self-determination and independence, and not a ploy to deny them these rights permanently.

The PLO and the Palestinians in the occupied territories have both made that position clear. On 26 April, more than 80 local Palestinian leaders from the West Bank and Gaza, representing a variety of political groups and orientations and including practically every potential candidate for elections in the occupied territories, issued a formal response to Shamir's proposal. It called them a public relations gimmick and an attempt to buy time for Israel while it continues to repress the intifada. The statement reaffirmed the legitimacy of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and stressed that any proposal which tries to circumvent the Palestinian right to self-determination and independence lacks authenticity and seriousness. □

### STATEMENT FROM OCCUPIED PALESTINE (Unofficial Translation From Arabic)

At a time when the the Palestinian intifada enters its eighteenth month strong and self-confident, affirming its ability to continue until it achieves its goals of removing the occupation, assuring the right of return, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem under the leadership of the PLO, and at a time in which the PLO is engaged in our political struggle on the basis of the resolutions of the most recent Algiers session of the Palestine National Council, the Israeli government finds itself internationally isolated to an unprecedented degree. Israel has lost its principal weapons and has been exposed as a terrorist state repressing an unarmed people struggling for national independence by legitimate means.

Instead of responding to the Palestinian peace initiative and the demands of the intifada, and instead of



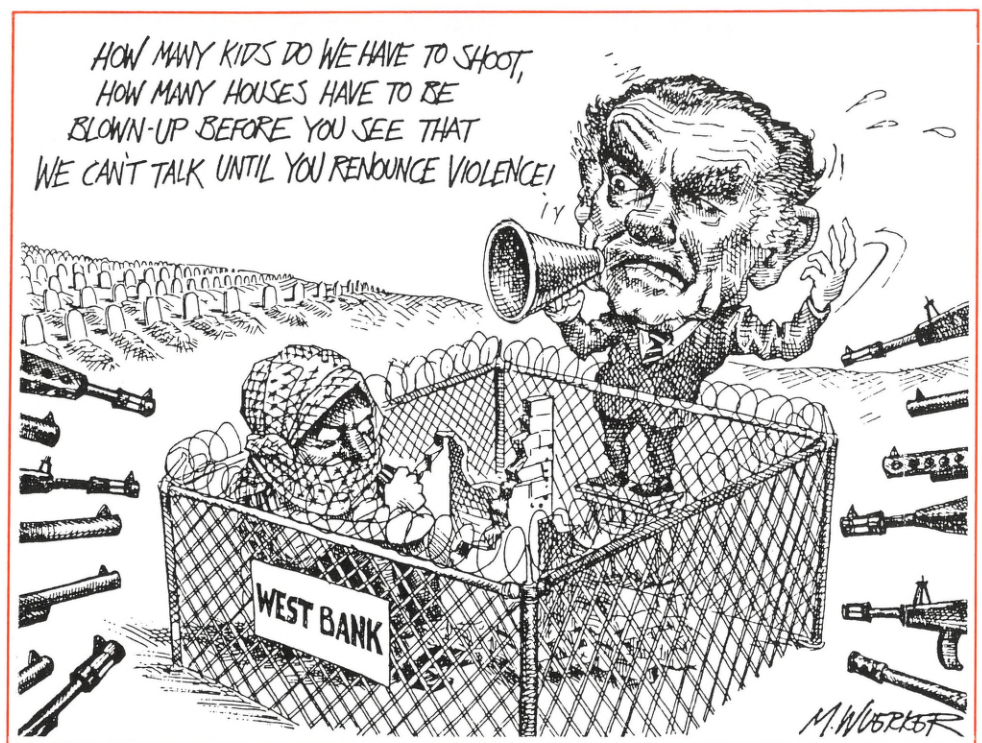
moving to negotiate with the PLO within the framework of an international conference able to achieve a just and comprehensive solution and to provide guarantees for the future and security for all the states in the region, Shamir has put forth a scheme that is nothing but a public relations maneuver designed to extricate Israel from its isolation. His scheme is full of contradictions and distortions, and avoids the essence of the crisis by concentrating on secondary issues on a selective basis.

The most remarkable thing about this scheme is that it totally contradicts the actual behavior of Shamir's government in the territory of the occupied Palestinian state, where his military apparatus is seeking out nationalist leaders and political activists in order to expel and imprison and sometimes kill them. In addition to the flagrant violations of human rights and the savage suppression of the Palestinians in our occupied state, Shamir's elections idea ignores our clear stand which includes the following:

1) The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the state of Palestine and elsewhere. The Palestinians chose their representatives a long time ago and reaffirmed that choice through their intifada. They are giving up their lives to say that the PLO is their sole legitimate representative, but Shamir ignores this reality.

2) The Palestinian people, in all areas of their presence and exile, are one indivisible people. The PLO's constitutional leadership and institutional structure symbolize the unity of the Palestinian people in and out of Palestine and embody their national identity. We see in the attempt to elect local representatives an attempt to divide our people into "inside" and "outside" Palestinians. Shamir's scheme betrays its author's lack of seriousness, because what is required is negotiations to solve the conflict with the Palestinian people and not only a part of them. Therefore, such negotiations should be with the representatives of all the Palestinians and not some of them.

3) The PLO is the framework of Palestinian struggle and the symbol of the entire Palestinian people and their aspirations to return, to self-determination and independent statehood, and it is their sole and legitimate representative. We see in Shamir's



attempt an effort to bypass the PLO and, consequently, to bypass that political reality and legitimate aspirations by sidetracking the discussion to the level of public relations on the international level, and to make the matter appear as a question of representing "the inhabitants" of the territories, and to picture the issue as a dispute with the residents of the "land of Israel" rather than the problem of a people striving for national independence. We see Israel's refusal to negotiate with the PLO as denial of the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination.

The Palestinian people's rejection of the idea of elections prior to the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the West Bank and Gaza in our state is based on the above-stated positions. They do not signify—as some Israelis allege—our people's opposition to the democratic process. Our people have demonstrated during the most recent session of the PNC their attachment to democracy. The PLO and the intifada have accomplished much in the establishment of a democratic Palestinian process. Our rejection of elections as proposed by Shamir is not rejection of elections as a democratic phenomenon but because Shamir's proposal is selective and does not deal with the essence of the crisis and because it is not part of a clear political process which ends with the termination of the occupation and the achievement of Palestinian independence.

The achievement of peace in the region will not be advanced through public relations schemes and ploys to halt the intifada or to gain time for Shamir's schemes. We are convinced that **ending the conflict and the establishment of peace require the following:**

1) Israeli recognition that the Palestinians are a people entitled to live securely in an independent state.

2) Recognition by the Israeli government of the necessity of negotiating with the PLO within the framework of the international conference to end the occupation and to establish the independent Palestinian state.

3) United Nations administration of the affairs of the occupied territories during a transitional period.

4) The definition of appropriate security guarantees for all the states of the region by the international conference, in agreement with all the parties involved.

We believe that the responsibility now falls on the government of Israel to take the next step toward peace. Until now, there has been total absence of a serious Israeli response to the peace initiative proposed by the Palestinian people through the Palestine National Council and the PLO. If Israel wishes to prove its seriousness in the search for peace, its government must respond positively to this initiative, and it must put an immediate end to its repressive and inhumane practices in the territories of our occupied state. □



## THE PROBLEM OF ZIONISM

*Anti-Zionism: Analytical Reflections*, edited by Roselle Tekiner, Samir Abed-Rabbo and Norton Mezvinsky. Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1988; 339 pages, \$19.95. Reviewed by **Sheldon L. Richman**.

Since the mid-1970s the Palestine Liberation Organization has expressed its willingness to make peace with Israel on the basis of a two-state solution. In recent months, the PLO has pressed this solution aggressively enough to win recognition from the U.S. government. Since the new Palestinian state would be on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, this is a monumental concession: it appears to forgo all pre-1967 claims to Palestinian territory despite the fact that Israeli usurpation of property rights on a grand scale created the original Palestinian refugee problem.

This accommodation by Yasser Arafat and the PLO, helpful as it may be

### SOJOURNERS PALESTINE

The independent Christian monthly magazine *Sojourners* has published a special issue on Palestine. The April 1989 issue features two lengthy articles, "The Road to Palestine" by the magazine's news editor Vicki Kemper who spent two weeks in occupied Palestine, and "The New Moment: A Look at the Politics and Players in the Middle East," by Charles Kimball, a Southern Baptist minister and the director of the Middle East Office of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA.

In her report, Kemper explains how, despite their enormous suffering, the Palestinians are working through the intifada to create their own state. Kimball analyzes the political situation and discusses the role that various players might play in the peace process.

The editors of *Sojourners* write that the events of the region "resemble more and more the birth pangs of a new state," and that the intifada contains both the pain and the promise of the road to Palestinian independence.

in defusing the Middle East bomb, has overshadowed a fundamental issue: the problem of Zionism. To grasp the difficulty inherent in Zionism, consider this: Zionism would be problematical even if the land the Zionists wanted were uninhabited.

One man who has understood this, and who has worked indefatigably to have others understand it, is Rabbi Elmer Berger. This book is a *festschrift* in his honor. Few people deserve to be honored for courage and resourcefulness in the service of justice as Rabbi Berger does. For over 40 years he has spoken out and written eloquently against the two-headed perniciousness of Zionism: the violence it has done to the Palestinians, and the damage it has inflicted on Judaism. Among his books and articles is the poignant *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew*. He was a founder of the anti-Zionist "American Council for Judaism" and later "American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism," which still exists. In an era so lacking in heroes, Rabbi Berger is an inspiration.

*Anti-Zionism: Analytical Reflections* does him justice. It is indeed a feast in writing, and a suitable introduction to many issues involved in the Palestine-Israel question. It begins with Rabbi Berger's own classic essay, "Zionist Ideology: Obstacle to Peace," and includes new essays by Israel Shahak, Sally and W. Thomas Mallison, Naseer Aruri, Roselle Tekiner, Shaw J. Dallal, Benjamin M. Joseph, Cheryl A. Rubenberg, Ruth W. Mouly, and Norton Mezvinsky. They cover such topics as Zionism as a recidivist movement, the "who is a Jew?" controversy, the anti-Zionist democratic alternative, Palestinian attitudes toward civil liberties, the Israel-South Africa relationship, American efforts for Middle East peace, Israel's Christian supporters, American domestic treatment of Zionists and Palestinians, and Reform Judaism's attitude toward Zionism. Each chapter is an eye opener.

One comes away from this book with a stark sense of the fundamental illiberality of Zionism. As Israel Shahak explains, it was an explicit reaction against the individualistic Enlightenment and an atavistic attempt to restore the stifling ghettos of 18th century Poland. Zionism's fathers be-

## THE ZIONIST MIND

What would you say if someone defended Israeli brutality against Palestinian protesters in the occupied territories by pointing to the execution of Nazi spies caught in Allied territory during World War II? You say no one would suggest such an absurdity? Then read the following from "readers letters" published by *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition, week ending 8 April 1989):

"Sir,—For those American critics of Israel's measures to defend soldiers under attack, calling them violations of human rights, the following incident from World War II is worth remembering.

"In early 1942, Nazi Germany landed two saboteurs from a submarine off the New Jersey coast with the assignment to destroy defence facilities. They were quickly apprehended, and on personal orders by President Roosevelt, were summarily executed. Since these were wartime conditions, no "due process of law" nor other peacetime, democratic niceties were applied." [End of quote].

The children of Gaza, not sufficiently informed about "precedent," continue to throw stones at Israeli occupation troops, apparently oblivious to the enormity of the deed.

Obviously, *The Jerusalem Post* editors thought that their readers deserved this sort of enlightenment. We do not presume to quarrel with their judgment. We only want to ask our readers to ponder the sort of "logic" that the Palestinians are up against. □

lieved that Jews could not live normal lives among Gentiles—even in free, democratic societies—and propounded a notion of "Jewish People" rights that rejected the spirit of the age. Zionism, writes Shahak, "can be described as a mirror image of anti-Semitism," since it holds that Jews are everywhere aliens who would best be isolated from the rest of the world. Moreover, "Both anti-Semites and Zionism assume anti-Semitism is ineradicable and inevitable." This attitude among Zionist Jews led to a capitulation to anti-Semitism in Europe, in lieu of a conviction to rally the world's liberal forces against it. Small wonder



that some notorious anti-Semites, such as Eichmann, have been attracted to the Zionist program. The results have been catastrophic.

Shahak's paper makes much of the last 40 years understandable. Given Zionism's premises, it is not surprising that Arabs would be seen as obstacles to be swept away ruthlessly and that the state of Israel would be run ostensibly for the benefit of "the Jewish People" no matter the cost in the lives and liberties of non-Jews. Some of the horrifying results are documented in *Anti-Zionism*. The record of callousness and dishonesty is appalling, all the more so because it was done in the name of Judaism. As Rabbi Berger writes in the first chapter, "Nationalist territorial Zionism's dehumanizing of Arabs has not been in response to or defense against Arab inhumanity to Jews... The source of conflict was always Zionism."

Norton Mezvinsky's account of the early history of Reform Judaism is a needed antidote to the standard accounts of Zionism. If Zionism was an illiberal attempt to roll back the Enlightenment so far as Jews were concerned, Reform Judaism was a glorious embrace of the liberal values of individual freedom and dignity. In 1885, Reform Rabbis met in Pittsburgh and adopted a platform that declared Judaism a religious community, not a people or a nation. "We recognize in the area of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the Kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men." Its first prayer book omitted the usual references to Jewish exile and the future restoration of Israel. Reform Judaism was, in other words, anti-Zionist. It foretold with perfect accuracy the violence that Zionism would do to Judaism even had there been no Arabs in Palestine. Without Rabbi Berger we would be less knowledgeable of this "other"—the real—Judaism.

A short review cannot do this book justice. Suffice it to say that it is a fitting tribute to a man who, in the face of the fiercest opposition, has never shrunk from the defense of the innocent victims of oppression and defense of the humane and universal values embodied in Judaism. □

*Sheldon L. Richman is a writer and editor in the Washington, DC, area. This review, originally submitted to The Washington Report on the Middle East, is published here with its permission.*

## HEARINGS (continued from page 9)

of American Jews that had come together, provoked by the intifada, to call for a basic change in American policy toward Israel, including major reductions of aid.

Schwarschild, who directs the American Civil Liberties Union's program against the death penalty, had the stage to himself when it came to American Jewry. For when Dine and Fine found out that a spokesperson for JCOME was invited to the hearings they tried to pressure the congressional staff to retract the invitation. But the pressure failed, largely thanks to the steadfastness of Crockett and Dymally and their staff. Fine called again the morning of the hearings to say that if the JCOME representative was allowed to testify he would not. And so he didn't. Dine decided to send written testimony but did not appear in person.

But the CBC found itself unable, or unwilling, to do much after the hearings. First came the problem of getting the transcript published, something that could have been very important at the time had it been circulated to other members of congress.

Because the CBC is an unofficial group, there is no money from congress for printing its hearing records. Consequently, the CBC Foundation, a non-profit organization which works in coordination with CBC, agreed to undertake that task. But then came one delay after another, reflecting dissension within the CBC itself and reluctance, by some of its members, to get further out front regarding the intifada and opposition to Israel.

After many months of delays some of the groups which had testified were unhappy that the hearing record was not available and began inquiring and then pressing in their own ways. Still, no transcript was published, and a series of excuses were made by CBC staff persons and CBC Foundation officials.

Meanwhile, much has happened in the Middle East, and the intifada is more alive than ever, even though in Washington it is not front page news anymore. Anyway, whatever the reasons for the delays the CBC hearings record is about to appear, although it is not likely to get much notice a year after the event.

And there does not seem to be any planning for another hearing, even though it is needed more now than ever before. □

## TO COMFORT ISRAELI SOLDIERS It Is Tax Deductible in America

**H**e's exhausted...and with good reason," the ad begins. [He's been clubbing Palestinian kids all day], "and he needs to be comforted." The victim in question is the Israeli soldier, and contributions to comfort him are tax deductible in the USA.

## IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES YOU CAN HELP



**H**e's exhausted...and with good reason. He commands a unit in the Gaza Strip. Every hour, he's alert, watching for the stones and flaming bottles of gasoline that come raining on his troops. He tries to keep the peace...in the center of a political struggle he did not create...that was there before he was born...that he is powerless to solve. As nations debate the outcome, he carries his awesome responsibility, commanding an intense group of young men...and he is only twenty.

We try to make his life a little less difficult. We are the Friends of the Israel Defense Forces, working hand in hand with the Association for the Well-Being of Israel's Soldiers...Israel's best known, philanthropic organization. We've been serving Israel's soldiers for more than 40 years by providing rest & recreation, soldier's hostels, base clubs, mobile recreation units, educational programs, hitchhiking shelters, holiday gift parcels and much, much more.

AND YOU CAN HELP...Join us in an all-important expression of support for the young people on the front lines. Stand with those who risk their lives daily defending the Jewish homeland. Send us your contribution (tax deductible in the U.S.A.) so you can be listed as one who supports Israel's soldiers.

**Friends of the IDF**  
An Association for the  
Well-Being of Israel's Soldiers

Advertisement by "Friends of the IDF," from *The Jerusalem Post* (int'l. ed., week ending 8 April 1989). Contributions were also solicited through a mass mailing in this country.

## DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of *Palestine Perspectives* on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address.



## CANADA ENDORSES PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION

Minister for External Affairs  
Calls PLO Policy "Constructive"

Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, said that his government decided to end restrictions on official meetings with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and "has endorsed the principle of self-determination for the Palestinian people to be exercised through peace negotiations."

The statement, issued on 30 March 1989, explained that recent "constructive and helpful statements made by the Palestine National Council (PNC) and Chairman Arafat have addressed critical Canadian concerns about the position of the PLO." Mr. Clark was referring to PNC decisions last November and subsequent statements by the PLO Chairman regarding Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as guidelines for a settlement of the conflict with Israel, PLO disavowal of violence, and recognition of Israel.

The Canadian statement says, however, that its decisions do not signify recognition of the State of Palestine declared by the PNC on 15 November, or recognition of the PLO since Canada recognizes only countries in existence. It also noted that removing restrictions on meetings with the PLO and the endorsement of Palestinian self-determination do not change Canada's traditional policy toward Israel.

An accompanying summary of Canada's position on the various issues relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict, however, shows the Canadian government straddling the fence on many of these issues. For example, Canada supports "a properly structured" international peace conference. "What is imperative," the statement says on this issue, "is that the parties directly involved agree to the convening and format of such a conference." This means that Israel's approval would be required for convening the conference, for determining its role and the participants.

The Canadian statement also leaves the position on the PLO rather vague, because it acknowledges that the PLO "does represent an important element of Palestinian opinion," but it does not recognize it as the "sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinians." The statement is silent on who else, in Canada's opinion, represents the Palestinian people and how—if the Palestinians have more than one representative authority—they can be involved in the peace process.

Furthermore, Canada's announced endorsement of Palestinian self-determination still lacks credibility because on the substantive issues it leans in favor of "peace initiatives" which do not embody such a principle. It supports the Camp David Accords and the Reagan Plan, but it only finds "some positive elements" in the Fez proposals of 1982.

In general, the Canadian position indicates movement in the direction of more evenhanded policy, but it is not commensurate with the concessions made by the Palestinians, and it falls short of the honest reassessment needed for a breakthrough in the making of peace in the Middle East. □

## THE UNITED NATIONS ON ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE

Resolution Calls for Palestinian  
Self-Determination

Following are the operative paragraphs of General Assembly Resolution 43/176 on the question of Palestine, approved by an overwhelming majority on 15 December 1988:

### *The General Assembly,*

1. **Affirms** the urgent need to achieve a just comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine;

2. **Calls** for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination;

3. **Affirms** the following principles for the achievement of comprehensive peace:

(a) The withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem and from the other occupied Arab territories;

(b) Guaranteeing arrangements for the security of all States in the region, including those named in resolution 181 (I) of 29 November 1947 [Israel and Palestine], within secure and internationally recognized boundaries;

(c) Resolving the problem of the Palestine refugees in conformity with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) [calling for repatriation and compensation] of 11 December 1948, and subsequent resolutions;

(d) Dismantling the Israeli settlements in the territories occupied since 1967;

(e) Guaranteeing freedom of access to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites;

4. **Notes** the expressed desire and endeavors to place the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, under the supervision of the United Nations for a limited period, as part of the peace process;

5. **Requests** the Security Council to consider measures needed to convene the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, including the establishment of a preparatory committee, and to consider guarantees for security measures agreed upon by the Conference for all States in the region;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to continue his efforts with the parties concerned, and in consultation with the Security Council, to facilitate the convening of the Conference, and to submit progress reports on developments in this matter. □



# AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR INQUIRY

## Human Rights Group Demands Investigation of Israeli Violations

Amnesty International said that “the need for an independent judicial inquiry into the killing and wounding of Palestinians by Israeli forces was becoming more urgent with each passing day.” In a news release from Washington, dated 18 April 1989, the worldwide human rights organization whose work on behalf of human rights throughout the world had earned it the Nobel Prize for Peace, said that it was “gravely concerned that senior Israeli authorities appear to have been condoning if not encouraging the excessive use of force by soldiers and border police knowing that it would result in the death or injury of Palestinians.”

Amnesty International listed in its press release a number of recent cases causing concern with the behavior of Israeli troops in occupied Palestine. These include the following:

- The shooting of 11-year-old Samer Aruri in the head in Silit al-Harhiya on 19 March while he was playing football and even though he fled as the soldiers arrived.
- On 30 March, Salem Mubarak (26) was shot in the head and killed by border police while he was working in a field in Dar Saleh. The same day Ra’ad Abu Aisha (17), with Downs Syndrome, was shot in the back by border police outside his home in Hebron.
- On 8 April, Maher Shalsek (13) was reportedly shot in the head by a soldier while standing in the doorway of his home in Jenin. He died six days later.
- On 10 April, border police reportedly pulled up outside a mosque in Hebron during the evening prayers and shot through the walls and windows.
- On 15 April, soldiers shot and killed Imad Qaraqeh (22) as he stood on the balcony of his house during a curfew in Dheisheh refugee camp.
- The killing of two teenagers on 17 April and a boy of 10 a day before, and the group killings in Nahalin on 13 April [during a pre-dawn raid on the village] were the most recent incidents of indiscriminate shooting.

Amnesty International said that it continues to receive reports of Palestinians shot and sometimes killed “when they appeared to present no immediate threat to the lives of military and security forces” and that the shooting sometimes occurs at close range. Over 400 Palestinians, the international human rights organization reported, have been killed by Israeli troops since the start of the uprising in December 1987, by shooting, tear-gassing and beatings. “Dozens of the victims had been young, including babies and children of three, five, and 12 years of age.”

### Independent Inquiry

The Israeli authorities, Amnesty International said, have stated that every incident involving the use of live ammunition is fully investigated and that soldiers suspected of illegal use of weapons or excessive force are subject to military trial and punishment. However, Amnesty International said “little information about investigations had been made public despite the hundreds of Palestinians dead and the thousands beaten.” The organization only knew of three soldiers who had been convicted in the first year of the intifada in cases of fatal shooting, the heaviest sentence was 18 months imprisonment for manslaughter.

### ICRC Protests Killings

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also issued a strong protest against Israel’s indiscriminate use of violence against unarmed civilians in the occupied territories. The Geneva-based international organization issued the following statement after six Palestinians were killed and more than 30 wounded during a raid on Nahalin, south of Jerusalem, on 13 April. The incident has been described as a “massacre” and “one of the worst incidents” since the intifada began seventeen months ago:

*“The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) vigorously protests against this latest tragic incident, during which troops opened fire without discrimination and without restraint.*

*“For several months the ICRC has been extremely concerned by the increasing frequent use of firearms and by acts of physical violence against defenseless civilians. In addition, the evacuation of the injured has been hampered, as well as the work of medical staff and hospitals in the occupied territories.*

*“Following numerous representations the ICRC now addressed an urgent appeal to the Israeli authorities, calling for an end to such practices which violate the fundamental principles of humanitarian law.” □*

## SIXTH NGO MEETING

During its meetings last March, the International Coordinating Committee on Palestine approved the agenda for the Sixth UN International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine, scheduled to convene in Vienna, Austria, from 30 August to 1 September 1989. The participants decided on the topic “Intifada: The Continuing Struggle of the Palestinian People for Independence” as the theme of the conference.

The conference will have five workshops dealing with the following subjects:

### ■ Workshop #1:

A. “Protection of the Palestinian population: the role of the United Nations in the occupied territories.”

B. “Protection of the Palestinian population: the role of the NGOs.”

### ■ Workshop #2:

“The role of NGO assistance in meeting the future economic development requirements of economic self-determination.”

### ■ Workshop #3:

“Mobilization for the release of Palestinian prisoners and potential deportees.”

### ■ Workshop #4:

“Mobilization for international support for Palestinian education and cultural institutions.”

### ■ Workshop #5:

A. “Building support for an independent Palestinian state with the Jewish communities.”

B. “Building support for an independent Palestinian state among Israelis.”

The conference will also organize two round-table discussions on “The impact of the intifada on Israeli society,” and “Two peoples, two states: future relations.” □



## THE ISRAELI ARMY LIES ABOUT INTIFADA CASUALTIES

Foreign Journalists Find Palestinian Sources More Credible

Foreign journalists covering news of the rebellion in occupied Palestine no longer believe Israeli army accounts. On the other hand, they find Palestinian sources credible and find their information faster and more accurate.

During a recent Tel Aviv University panel discussion on the Palestinian uprising, the credibility of the Israeli army was questioned by the participating foreign correspondents, Mary Curtius of *The Boston Globe*, Martin Fletcher of NBC Television, and Willy Werkman, correspondent for Dutch television. In the 1970s, the journalists said, the Israeli army had credibility. But during the intifada, said Mary Curtius, she realized that the information coming from her Palestinian sources "would be borne out." Fletcher agreed that Israeli army spokesmen had lost credibility.

Werkman gave specifics. She recalled spending three hours in the emergency room of a Gaza hospital and counting 10 people who arrived with gunshot wounds and 10 others who had been beaten. "I saw it with my own eyes," she said, but Israeli television reported that only two Palestinians were injured, quoting Israeli army sources. "What happened to the 18 others?" she asked.

Brig. Gen. Ephraim Lapid, Israeli army spokesman who also participated in the seminar, admitted "mistakes" in Israeli army reports. He told the audience that sometimes short distances separated Israeli soldiers from Palestinian protesters, and that soldiers who open fire sometimes

cannot tell how many Palestinians they shot. And the Israeli army relies on their accounts.

The Palestinians, on the other hand, base their accounts on information provided by local hospitals where the victims are taken for treatment.

[In a related story, foreign journalists working in Israel and the occupied territories have protested the use of press signs by Israeli soldiers and settlers to conceal their true identities. The foreign journalists said that the practice would jeopardize their lives by provoking attacks from Palestinians who might mistake them for Israeli soldiers in disguise. Israel Police Inspector General David Kraus decreed that there was nothing illegal about plain clothes policemen putting press signs on their unmarked cars.] □

### "QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"I accept the democratic right of the Jews in Israel to commit national suicide and, if that happens, I will be with them. But it is my duty, and the duty of others with similar views, to warn them against such a course."

**Yehoshafat Harkabi**  
*Israel's Fateful Hour*

"The victory in 1967 was the worst thing that happened to the [Israeli] Army, because everybody thought it could do no wrong. It has taken us 20 years to find out how wrong that is."

**Professor Martin van Crefield**  
Hebrew University  
*Newsweek* magazine (1 May 1989)

## ISRAEL BANS SONG

Israel Army Radio has been forbidden to play a song by Israeli pop singer Nurit Galron because, according to Army Radio commander Nachman Shai, it takes the side of the Palestinians in their resistance to the Israeli army. Army Radio, the commander ruled, is "committed to Israeli soldiers who were carrying out the orders of the government." He explained his order to forbid playing the song to *The Jerusalem Post* (int'l ed., week ending 15 April) by saying that "In the confrontation between Israel and the Palestinians, Army Radio is not objective. We are on the side of Israel and the IDF." The song in question is called "After Us, The Flood."

This is not the first time that Shai bans a song in Israel. Last year, he banned another protest song against Israeli indifference to the excessive use of force by the Israeli army against Palestinian protesters.

### "After Us, The Flood"

*There is a state of stones and petrol bombs,  
And there is Tel Aviv lit up by night-clubs and lewdness.  
There is a state in revolt, where wounds are bandaged,  
And there is Tel Aviv partying, living, eating and drinking.  
Let's live the Tel Aviv we see in front of us;  
After us, the flood.  
The haves cannot understand the have-nots  
Tel Aviv is life.*

### Palestine Perspectives

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